

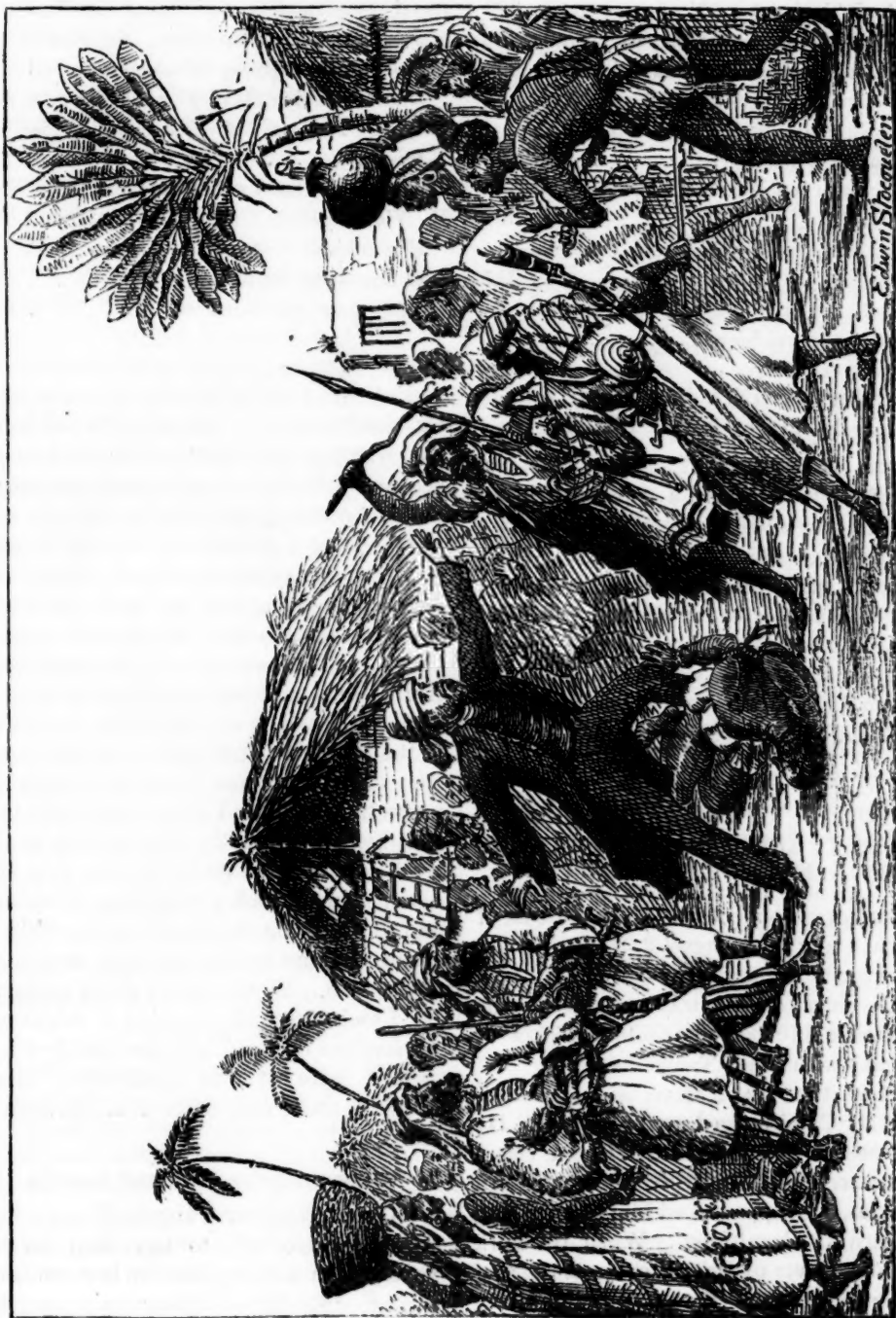
# ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

UNDER THE SANCTION OF  
THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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MR. FARLER AND THE ARAB SLAVE-TRADERS.



# ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

November, 1877.

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### THE RIGHT HON. A. H. LAYARD AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

WITH this number of the *Reporter* our subscribers will receive a copy of a letter from the Right Hon. A. H. Layard, late Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Madrid, to M. E. Laboulaye; and with it a reply to the charges which the letter contains against this Society. As they speak for themselves, we do not now refer to them further than to ask our readers to give them both a careful perusal.

### RESCUE OF A FUGITIVE SLAVE RECAPTURED BY ARAB TRADERS BY A MISSIONARY.

OUR correspondent on the East Coast of Africa, under date August 2, 1877, gives the following most interesting narrative:—

"Recently, on my way to Zanzibar, the slave-trade brought me into collision at Pangani with some Tanga Arabs.

"Some time ago a slave, named Baruti, came here, and begged my protection. He told me that he had fled from Tanga, where his master, an Indian British subject, named Ibrahim, had apprenticed him to a Swahili to learn blacksmithing. When Dr. Kirk freed the slaves of British subjects residing in Tanga, in 1875, Baruti, through living away from his master's house, was over-

looked, and remained in slavery. His master, fearing to keep him, tried to sell him; but, wanting a hundred dollars for him on account of his knowing a trade (the usual price of ordinary slaves being twenty dollars), he had a difficulty in finding a purchaser. One day the master of a dhow, who fortunately happened to be a friend of Baruti, received orders to take him over to Pemba, as Ibrahim had sold him to a Pemba Arab. He at once told him that if he wanted to escape that fate he had better run away to the Mozunga (European). Baruti, therefore, came to me, and I took him under my protection. I found him a hard-working, intelligent blacksmith, earnest both in his work and in his prayers, for he was a Mohammedan. I took a great interest in him, and succeeded in showing him the folly of Islam, creating in him the desire to become a Christian. When I went down to Zanzibar I took him with me, that I might get his freedom declared, and also that he might seek a wife at our freed-slave village Mûwein, about four miles from the town of Zanzibar."

### ARAB TRADERS CAPTURE BARUTI.

"On arriving at Pangani I sent him, with a native boy, to buy food for the voyage. In a short time the boy ran back, saying, 'Es Baba! Wâarabu wamemkamata Baruti.' (Oh, father! the Arabs have

caught Baruti). I immediately went with him to the spot, and found Baruti lying on the ground, bound hand and foot, covered with dirt, blood running from his mouth, and four Tanga Arabs, armed to the teeth, beating him, and preparing to carry him off, while numbers of people stood round."

THE RESCUE (*see frontispiece*).

"I at once sprang into the midst of them, thrusting the Arabs aside, lifted up Baruti, and, turning to the bystanders, indignantly demanded a knife; after some hesitation one was handed to me, and in a moment he was free. Then, turning to the Arabs who had seized him, and telling them I would reckon with them hereafter, I carried Baruti away to my house, put him into an inner room, and, loading my rifle, stood sentry at the front door, determined, if a rescue were attempted, to resist it to the utmost."

GREAT EXCITEMENT.

"All this time I had been alone, for my people were all walking about the town. A great crowd collected before the door. The native black slaves rejoicing, and expressing their delight at my action, while the Arabs and Swahili slave-owners scowled fiercely, threatening what they would do unless I at once gave up the man to them. I remained, outwardly, calmly indifferent; but as soon as some of my people returned, I sent a messenger to the native chief—a friend of mine—who lived just out of the town, to tell him that perhaps I should want his assistance; and that he was to have a force ready to help me if the Arabs molested me. Another I sent to the Arab Li Wali, to complain of the outrage. An officer soon returned, and begged me to go with him to Li Wali, for some Arabs were there demanding that Baruti should be given up to their friends. As I was leaving, Baruti earnestly begged me not to give him up."

BEFORE THE GOVERNOR.

"When I arrived at the Governor's house the Arabs said Baruti was their slave; that they had had him for many years. This I flatly contradicted, and said, that although I had come before Li Wali, I did not intend to give him up; that now he was under British protection, and that, if they took him it must be by force. The Wali, who has been recently appointed, supported me, and told them if they wanted to obtain Baruti

they must apply to Dr. Kirk for him. They then began to abuse and threaten me, declaring they would have him back; but were promptly turned out of the Court."

BARUTI BECOMES A FREE MAN.

"The next morning, before daybreak, I sailed for Zanzibar. The Arabs never appeared to claim Baruti; and, by the advice of Dr. Kirk, I asked my friend, the Rev. Channey Maples—who was just starting to join Mr. Johnson at Masasi—to take him with him, for there he would be in his own country; so by this time he is restored a free man to his native land, where, as a Christian, and a good artisan, he will be of great value to our new freed-slave settlement in the Nyassa country."

"When I arrived at Zanzibar I found that Dr. Kirk had five freed slaves natives of Usambara, who had been captured by one of H.M. boats, while being taken to Pemba. These I was enabled to send back at once to their homes. At the end of the month, when I returned, I took with me eight freed slaves, four of them natives of Magila, who had been stolen by Tanga Arabs when they were carrying their produce to the beach markets. These have asked me to let them live at my station. I have given them land, and they are now building houses for themselves."

SLAVE CARAVANS TAKE NEW ROUTES.

"During my stay at Zanzibar I went over to Dar-es-Salam, with a party just arrived from England to make a road for the British India Company, from Dar-es-Salam to the north end of Lake Nyassa; there I found but few signs of the slave-trade, the people told me the slave caravans were taking a route more inland. This shows how necessary it is to use available native aid, and the offer of 'Sultan' Kibanga, Chief of Usambara, has again been made me."

OFFER OF KIBANGA, CHIEF OF USAMBARA.

"He says, 'Let the English Government give me a few old Enfields, with a supply of powder and caps, and I will guard the Pangani River from Seyyid Barghash's Fort Tongwe to the mountains, and will guarantee that no slave caravan shall pass.' If, then, the Wali of Pangani, and the Akada of Fort Tongwe do their duty, the caravans must either pass through the mountains or the Masai



country, and this they never will do as they run the almost certain risk of being plundered, perhaps murdered. Is there any chance of such an offer being accepted? The English Government would incur no responsibility whatever, the land traffic from south to north would be stopped by land, as it is already practically stopped by sea. The expense would be a mere trifle, say 100 English rifles with ammunition, and an occasional supply of powder and caps."

**SEYYID BARGHASH DOUBTS THE FIDELITY OF HIS OWN OFFICERS.**

"During a short conversation I had with Seyyid Barghash, he expressed his utter disbelief in his own walis carrying out the slave proclamation. 'You may change and change again, they are all good at first,' he said, 'but they soon sink down into the ordinary level of indifference or opposition.' We feel here that Seyyid Barghash has gone thoroughly with our Government in endeavours to suppress the slave-trade, that he has given up much, but that we have done nothing for him, and that even a small request that he made at the invitation of the Foreign Office has not been granted, although it was a costless one of mere sentiment.

"The new Wali of Pangani is really doing his best to put a stop to the slave-traffic, and has seized several caravans; he has, therefore incurred the hate of the coast Arabs. He is the first Wali of any of the coast towns who has honestly tried to carry out the proclamation of Seyyid Barghash, and I wish it were in my power to make him some present for the encouragement of himself and others.

"P.S.—Kibanga has just arrived here on a visit to me. The Bondei chiefs, who rebelled at old Kimwere's (his father's) death, and declared themselves independent, a short time ago, came and asked me to rule over them; I declined, but advised them to join again to Usambara, under the rule of Kibanga. This they have now done."

**KIBANGA ATTACKS THE TRADERS AND FREES THE SLAVES.**

"On his way here Kibanga met a party of Arabs with a gang of slaves in chains. The sight of this rendered him furious; he attacked the Arabs, routed them, killing several of them, released all the slaves, and took then, as many of them as wished, into

his own bodyguard—the others he has brought here.

"He tells me the Arabs frequently send to him, offering powder and guns in exchange for slaves, but he says he has now made a compact of friendship with the English, and will have nothing to do with the slave-trade; and more, if the English will give him the means to arm a guard to watch the banks of the river Lufu, not a slave gang shall pass through his country."

**WHAT MR. STANLEY SAW OF THE SLAVE-TRADE IN HIS JOURNEY ACROSS AFRICA.**

It is a profound satisfaction to learn that Mr. Stanley has safely reached Loando, and, although too weak to give a detailed report of his travels, he has sent to the *Telegraph* the following copy of a missing letter on the slave-trade along his route. We gratefully acknowledge the value of this contribution to our great cause, viz., that it gives the most recent information of the trade in those districts. Of course it is the old story—massacres, starvation, sales of women and children. Livingstone had told all this; but Stanley tells of the terrible continuance and extension of the devastation in Central Africa. His indignation against the Sultan of Zanzibar is grounded on the supposition that the Sultan can do more than Portugal can—restrain its officials. The Seyyid is unable to do so near the sea-shore: what can he do in the interior of Africa? The Sultan has already made too great sacrifices to allow any man to question his personal sincerity. He has the will without the power to suppress even one department of the slave-trade. In a letter, published in this number of the *Reporter* (page 302), we give the Sultan's own sorrowful confession of his impotence, and of the untrustworthiness of his subjects.

"TO 'THE DAILY TELEGRAPH' AND 'NEW YORK HERALD.'"

"Nyangwe, Oct. 23, 1876.

"The subject which I choose for this letter is one professedly of interest to a large class of Englishmen and Americans, and, I believe, to many people in Germany. It is the slave-trade in the African interior, and those who deal in the traffic and amass wealth out of it. In giving you an account



of its nature I promise you not to indulge my personal feelings, but to be cool, precise, and literal, believing that the letter will have more effect than if it contained merely vituperations and oburgations against the slave-traders."

#### FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

"One has to travel very far in Africa, from east towards west, before he will begin to experience that strong antipathetic feeling to the slave-traders so characteristic in Livingstone; for the slave-trade elsewhere is mostly confined to small private retail dealings in human flesh, between Arab and Arab. Two or three, or half-a-dozen, or a dozen slaves are exchanged quietly between traders, as the exigencies of business or currency require. These few slaves are perhaps accepted in payment of a long-standing debt, or are purchased to complete the number of domestic servants. The buying or selling of them in such a quiet, orderly manner does not strike one as being specially repulsive—rather more as an exchange from one domestic service to another. At Unyanyembe, perhaps, he may see a sight once in a while to provoke indignation and disgust. To witness it daily, however, the traveller must have sharp eyes, and exert himself in a hot climate a little more than is desirable or comfortable. In Uganda the trade begins to assume a wholesale character, yet it still retains a business aspect, not particularly shocking to any great extent, for the dismalities and heart-rendings it provokes are all hushed up long before the slaves become the property of the Arabs. The kings and chiefs to whose peculiar tastes such an extensive and singular trade is owing have long ago dried the tears of the captive by searing their nerves, and severing the chords of sympathy and of feeling by cruel means, so that, except in unfrequent instances, there are no more tears to be shed, or power of wailing left when they begin to be driven in flocks towards the Arab depôts or the coast."

#### SLAVE-MARKETS AT UJJI, &c.

"At Ujiji one sees a slave-market established—not a central market, as at Zanzibar, but in several slave folds, or slave-pens, maintained by degraded half-castes, or demoralised Wajiji—whence they are taken by those in need of slaves *for service or for retail sale*. The objects of traffic, as they are landed at the shore of Ujiji, are generally

in a terrible condition, reduced by hunger to ebony skeletons—attenuated weaklings, unable to sustain their large, angular heads. Their voices have quite lost the manly ring; they are mere whines and moans of desperately sick folk. Scarcely one is able to stand upright; the back represents an unstrung bow, with something of the serrated appearance of a crocodile's chine. Every part of their frames shows the havoc of hunger which has made them lean, wretched, and infirm creatures.

"Just here I could, if I might, launch out into vigorous abuse of the authors of these crimes; and they deserve a thousandfold more denunciation than can be invented by me or by any humane soul in Europe; but I have promised to be cool, precise, and literal. Yet I will say that all the Satanic host protects them, for it must be assuredly owing to the deep wiles of Hell and its inhabitants that the people of a small island like Zanzibar are permitted to commit crimes such as no European State understands. The living skeletons described above have all been marched from Marungu to Ugubha; thence to Ujiji they were crowded in canoes. When our expedition crossed over to Ugubha we met 800 slaves of exactly such a cast as already described—principally children and women. I do not mean to say that these 800 were all skeletonised thus by hunger. There were a few—perhaps fifty, perhaps more—who still possessed somewhat of rotundity in their forms; but these, I was told by the traders, sustained themselves by assiduous consumption of roots, berries, voided grain, &c. The canoes which brought the expedition to Ugubha returned to Ujiji with full cargoes of slaves. Frank Pocock, my European attendant, had often read in English journals accounts of the treatment and condition of African slave-droves, but until our arrival at Ugubha he said he never realised in his own mind what that treatment really was. Poor Frank, obliged to be sent back to Ujiji to recover some deserters, had more than enough of terrible scenes, for he was obliged to take passage in a heavily-loaded slave canoe, wherein fifty little withered wretches were crowded into a mass like so many starved pigs. As the canoe was three days *en route*, Frank's nerves were terribly tortured."

#### MODE OF CAPTURE.

"These slaves are the profitable result of

a systematic war waged upon all districts in the populous country of Marungu by banditti, supported by Arab means, directly and indirectly. Directly, because Arabs purchase the slaves taken in these wars, for powder and guns, by means of which the wars are sustained; and indirectly, because there is no other market than the Arabs supply, to relieve the banditti of the thousands which otherwise would have to be released from sheer want of food. These banditti are Wanyamwezi, armed with guns purchased at Unyanyembe and Bagamoyo, and, perfectly acquainted with Arab commerce and the wares most profitable. They band themselves for the desperate purpose of enslaving all tribes and peoples which are, from want of means and organisation, too weak to resist them. No country offers such a field for these gangs of kidnappers as Marungu, where every small village is independent, and generally at variance with its neighbour. Almost all the adult males are slain in the most cruel manner, and their bodies are afterwards hacked and dismembered and hung up on trees along the road that the terror of such a fate may render villages and districts not yet attacked more submissive and unresisting. The women and youths are too valuable to slay, and the Arabs require them.

"The owner of 250 of these poor hungry, skeletonised slaves whom we met at the Arab crossing-place in Ugubha was Said bin Salim, the Governor of Unyanyembe, and the former chaperon of Burton and Speke on their journey to Ujiji in 1858-59. It was the third batch of this year, 1876, which has thus been consigned to Said bin Salim, an officer in the employ of Burghash, Prince of Zanzibar. I have reflected much upon the singularity of this fact. Prince Burghash lately made a treaty with Great Britain, wherein—but you know all about it. I believe it had something to do with prohibiting trade in slaves, and a promise—a written promise—from Seyyid Burghash was obtained that he would do all in his power to stop the trade. Do you not think it singular that Said bin Salim, an officer of Seyyid Burghash, should be engaged in this condemned traffic? I have meditated duly on the excuses which might be made for Said bin Salim, such as exigencies of business, necessities of the interior, domestic service. But—just Heavens!—what can this gover-

nor of Unyanyembe want with 500 or 600 women and children? I feel tempted to say strong things against this man, Said bin Salim, but I am restrained by my promise. This much I will say, that Said bin Salim, to the best of my knowledge and belief, is one of the principal slave-traders in Africa, and Said bin Salim is an officer of Prince Burghash, and, more than that, that Said bin Salim is the most trusted agent of the authorities at Zanzibar.

"You will perceive this letter is dated at Nyangwe, Manywema. Many will remember that Livingstone said he was witness of some dreadful scenes enacted here, which made his 'heart sore.' One terrible act he described. A half-caste, called Tagamoyo, was the principal actor. When I arrived in the same town where such a proceeding (as Livingstone wrote about) is said to have taken place, I asked if it was true: 'Quite true,' said a native of Zanzibar frankly. 'Ah, Mitagamoyo has no heart; his heart is very small indeed; it is as big as the end of a finger.' Meaning that it was pitiless, undisturbed by compassion or feeling—for a liberal, just and kind man is said to have a big heart.

"Between Bagamoyo and Unyanyembe I said one sees but retail sales of slaves; that in Uganda he beholds a wholesale trade without many horrors; that in Ujiji I saw large droves; and that in Ugubha I saw 800 slaves, almost too weak to stand from hunger. In Manywema I arrived on one of the fields where slaves are obtained, where it may be said they are grown, reaped, and harvested; or, more correctly, where they are parked, shot, or captured, as the case may be; for until slaves are needed they are permitted to thrive in their small unprotected villages, to plant their corn, to attend their plantations, and improve their dwellings; to quarrel, in that soft, mild manner peculiar to these simple and not over strong-minded savages which does but little harm to anybody. When, however, there is a growing demand for slaves, a revival in the trade, Moeni Dugambi (of Nyangwe), Mohammed bin Nassur (of Kassessa), Mohammed bin Said (of Mama Mamba), each settled at an angle of a large triangular district, invite their friends and dependents for a few days' sport, just as an English nobleman invites his friends to grouse or deer shooting. Now in this general battue it is understood, of

course, that all men found carrying spears should be considered dangerous, and shot, to be cut to pieces afterwards; but the women and children and submissive adults are prizes, which belong to the victors. The murder of people on this scale is called a war; and a grievance for war—as with your potentates—is soon discovered, where the losses are always on the side of the simple savages. In a coarse, not always successful manner, the savages sometimes attempt to retaliate, and then follows another grievance and another war.”

WHOLESALE MASSACRES BY SLAVE-  
TRADERS.

“I have three little extracts from my notebook which I request you to publish, to the truth of which any Arab, or Arab slave, at present in Nyangwe would be quite willing to testify:—

“Oct. 17.—Arabs organised to-day from the three districts of Kassessa, Mwana Mamba and Nyangwe, to avenge the murder and eating of Mohammed bin Soud, and ten men, by a tribe near Mana Mpunda, half-way between Kassessa and Nyangwe. After six days' slaughter, the Arabs returned with 300 slaves and 1,500 goats, besides spears, back-cloths, stools, &c.

“Oct 24.—The natives of Kabanga, near Nyangwe, were sorely troubled two or three days ago by a visit paid them by some Wanyamwezi, in the employ of Mohammed bin Said. Their insolence was so unbearable that the natives at last said, “We will stand this no longer. They will force our wives and daughters before our eyes if we hesitate longer to kill them. Kill them! kill them! and before the Arabs come we will be off.” Unfortunately, only one of the Wanyamwezi was killed; the others took fright, and disappeared to rouse the Arabs with a new “grievance.” To-day Mtagamoyo, whose heart is only as big as the end of one's finger, set out for the scene of action with a murderous celerity, and besides making fifteen slaves, killed thirty and set fire to eight villages. Mtagamoyo was said by the Arabs to have made but a “small prize.”

“Oct. 26.—The day after my arrival here has been signalled by an attack made by Mtagamoyo upon the Wagenya, or fishermen, on the left bank of the Lualaba. He departed in the night, and returned this day noon with fifty or sixty women and a few children.

“‘Are these wars of yours frequent?’ I asked my friend Abed bin Salim.

“‘Frequent! sometimes six times and ten times a month,’ he replied. ‘We cannot teach these pagans to be quiet; they are always kicking up trouble, killing some of our people whenever they can get a chance. A small force of five or ten guns dare not set out to hunt game. We are always on the look out for trouble, and when we hear of it we all set out to punish them.’

“The charge I make against the subjects of Prince Burghash is that in Marungu, Manywema, and Rua, they use their power to enslave people, to capture by force thousands of men, women, and children, for the purpose of selling them to their countrymen, for the mere sake of making money out of the sale of human beings that were forcibly and unjustly taken from their homes to feed their avarice. I charge them with being engaged in a traffic specially obnoxious to humanity—a traffic founded on violence, murder, robbery and fraud. I charge them with being engaged in a business which can be called by no other name than land piracy, and which should justly be as punishable as piracy on the high seas. That while all the nations in the world abstain from being concerned in such a trade, and generally condemn it, the subjects of Prince Burghash, equipping themselves at Zanzibar, Bagamoyo, and other seaport towns, organize themselves into separate and several caravans, whose object mostly is to prosecute to the utmost of their power and vigour a system of land piracy, to attack inoffensive tribes, and capture as many as they are able to, for the purpose of selling them to their countrymen on the coast. Prince Burghash, personally, I do not believe, is to be blamed. It is his weakness, his inefficiency, his utter incapacity to prevent his subjects from violating all laws, human and divine, that should be shown up. We may credit him, personally, with doing all he can to prevent it, or at least with doing all he knows how to prevent the trade. But it is apparent to me, and to anybody who may come to Africa, that what has been done, or is doing, makes no more impression upon this appalling and desperate trade than what this letter will perhaps make. I only write this letter because it is a part of my duty to give you such information as may come within



the range of my travels; assuredly with but a faint hope that it will have a feather's weight towards checking the crying and dreadful evil. What I do trust is that, with your aid, I shall be able to cause many to reflect upon the fact that there exists one little State on this globe, which is about equal in extent to an English county, with the sole privilege of enriching itself by wholesale murder, land piracy, and commerce in human beings; and that a traffic, forbidden to all other nations, should be permitted to be furtively monopolised by the little island of Zanzibar, and by such insignificant people as the subjects of Prince Burghash.

"HENRY M. STANLEY,  
Commanding Anglo-American Expedition."  
—*Daily Telegraph*, October 11, 1877.

#### CONVENTION BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENTS FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE Government of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Government of His Highness the Khedive of Egypt, being mutually animated by a sincere desire to co-operate for the extinction of the traffic in slaves, and having resolved to conclude a Convention for the purpose of attaining this object, the undersigned, duly authorised for this purpose, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

##### ARTICLE I.

The Government of His Highness the Khedive having already promulgated a law forbidding the trade in slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) within the countries under His Highness' authority, engages to prohibit absolutely from henceforward the importation of any slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) into any part of the territory of Egypt or her dependencies, or their transit through her territories, whether by land or sea; and to punish severely, in the manner provided by existing Egyptian law, or in such manner as may hereafter be determined, any person who may be found engaged, directly or indirectly, in the traffic in slaves (negroes or Abyssinians). The Government of His Highness the Khedive further engages to prohibit absolutely any negroes or Abyssinians from leaving the territory of Egypt

or her dependencies, unless it be proved indubitably that such negroes or Abyssinians are free or manumitted.

It shall be stated in the certificates of manumission or passports which shall be delivered to them by the Egyptian authorities before their departure that they may dispose of themselves without restriction or reserve.

##### ARTICLE II.

Any person who, either in Egypt or on the confines of Egypt and her dependencies towards the centre of Africa, may be found engaged in the traffic in slaves (negroes or Abyssinians), either directly or indirectly, shall, together with his accomplices, be considered by the Government of the Khedive as guilty of "stealing with murder" ("vol avec meurtre"); if subject to Egyptian jurisdiction he shall be handed over for trial to a court-martial; if not he shall immediately be handed over for trial according to the laws of his country to the competent tribunals, with the depositions (*procès-verbaux*) drawn up by the Egyptian superior authority of the place where the traffic has been proved, and all other documents or evidence ("éléments de conviction") handed over by the said authority, and destined to serve as proofs at the trial of the traders, so far as those laws may admit of such proof.

All slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) found in the possession of a dealer in slaves shall be liberated and dealt with in conformity with the provisions of Article III and of Annex (A) to the present Convention.

##### ARTICLE III.

Taking into consideration the impossibility of sending back to their homes slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) who may be captured from slave-dealers and liberated, without exposing them to the risk of perishing from fatigue or want, or of falling again into slavery, the Egyptian Government will continue to take and apply in their favour such measures as they have already adopted, and which are hereinafter enumerated in Annex (A) to the present Convention.

##### ARTICLE IV.

The Egyptian Government will exert all the influence it may possess among the tribes of Central Africa, with the view of preventing the wars which are carried on for the purpose of procuring and selling slaves.

It engages to pursue as murderers all per-

sons who may be found engaged in the mutilation or traffic in children; if such persons are amenable to Egyptian jurisdiction they will be brought before a court-marshal; if not, they will be handed over to the competent tribunals to be dealt with according as the law directs, together with the depositions (*procès verbaux*) and other documents or evidence ("éléments de conviction") as laid down in Article II.

## ARTICLE V.

The Egyptian Government engages to publish a special Ordinance, the text of which shall be annexed to the present Convention, prohibiting altogether all traffic in slaves within Egyptian territories after a date to be specified in the Ordinance, and providing also for the punishment of persons guilty of violating the provisions of the Ordinance.

## ARTICLE VI.

With the view to the more effectual suppression of the traffic in slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) in the Red Sea, the Egyptian Government agrees that British cruisers may visit, search, and, if necessary, detain, in order to hand over to the nearest or most convenient Egyptian authority for trial, any Egyptian vessel which may be found engaged in the traffic in slaves (negroes or Abyssinians), as well as any Egyptian vessel which may fairly be suspected of being intended for that traffic, or which may have been engaged in it on the voyage during which she has been met with.

This right of visit and detention may be exercised in the Red Sea, in the Gulf of Aden, on the coast of Arabia, and on the East Coast of Africa, and in the maritime waters of Egypt and her dependencies.

All slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) captured by a British cruiser on board an Egyptian vessel shall be at the disposal of the British Government, who undertakes to adopt efficient measures for securing to them their freedom.

The vessel and her cargo, as well as the crew, shall be handed over for trial to the nearest or most convenient Egyptian authority.

Nevertheless, in all cases where it may not be possible for the commander of the cruiser making the capture to forward the captured slaves to a British depôt, or where from any other circumstances it may appear desirable and in the interest of the captured

slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) that they should be handed over to the Egyptian authorities, the Egyptian Government engages, on an application being made to them by the commander of the British cruiser, or by an officer deputed by him for that purpose, to take over charge of the captured negroes, or Abyssinians, and to secure to them their freedom with all the other privileges stipulated for on behalf of negroes or Abyssinians captured by the Egyptian authorities.

The British Government, on its part, agrees that all vessels navigating under the British flag, in the Red Sea, in the Gulf of Aden, along the coast of Arabia, and the East Coast of Africa, or in the inland waters of Egypt and her dependencies, which may be found engaged in the traffic in slaves (negroes or Abyssinians), may be visited, seized, and detained by the Egyptian authorities; but it is agreed that the vessel and its cargo shall, together with its crew, be handed over to the nearest British authority for trial.

The captured slaves (negroes or Abyssinians) shall be released by the Egyptian Government, and shall remain at their disposal.

If the competent tribunal should decide that the seizure, detention, or prosecution was unfounded, the Government of the cruiser will be liable to pay to the Government of the prize a compensation appropriate to the circumstances of the case.

## ARTICLE VII.

The present Convention shall come into operation from the date of the signature hereof for Egypt proper as far as Assouan, and within three months from the date of signature for the Egyptian possessions in Upper Africa and on the shores of the Red Sea.

In witness whereof the undersigned have signed the present Convention, and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Alexandria, this fourth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven.

(L.S.) C. VIVIAN.

(L.S.) CHERIF.

## ANNEX A.

*Forming part of the Convention concluded between the Government of Great Britain and the Government of Egypt, 4th August,*

1877, for the suppression of the traffic in slaves.

The police were, up to the present time, charged with everything which concerned the slaves, their freedom, the education of children, &c.

Henceforth this duty will be entrusted to a special department at Alexandria and at Cairo, established at the respective Government office, which will provide for everything which will have reference to the slaves and their freedom.

In the provinces the department will be placed under the direction of the Inspectors-General.

There will be kept in this department a register for the entering of all the details affecting the freed slave.

In case of complaints made by consular authorities, or by particular persons, the department will take proceedings for the necessary information.

If the information establishes the legitimacy of the representations made, the matter will be referred to the competent authority, in order that regulations may be made relative to the emancipation.

If the complaints are made by the slave himself, the department, upon proof, will deliver to him letters of freedom, detached from a register book specially adapted for this purpose.

Whosoever shall have taken from a freed slave his letters of freedom, or shall have deprived, or contribute to deprive, him of his liberty, shall be treated as a slave-trader.

The Government shall provide for the wants of the slaves, and of the emancipated.

The male slaves shall be employed, according to circumstances, and at their choice, in domestic farms or military service.

The women shall have a domestic occupation, either in establishments under Government, or in the houses of civilians.

The boys will be continued to be received in the schools or offices of the Government, and the girls in the schools destined for their sex.

Furthermore, everything which shall concern the education of these children shall be especially entrusted to the direction of the Governors of Alexandria and Cairo, who shall concert, with the Minister of Public Instruction, for the purpose of adopting better regulations.

With regard to the boys who shall be

found in the provinces, the Inspectors-General shall place them in the provincial schools.

In Soudan the freed slaves shall be likewise employed according to the circumstances, and at their choice, in field, domestic, or military service.

This done at Alexandria, the 4th of August, 1877; to come into operation at the same date as the aforesaid Convention.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs.

(Signed)

CHERIF.

We, Ismail, Khedive of Egypt, in view of Article V. of the Convention between the Governments of Great Britain and Egypt, passed the 4th August, 1877, for the suppression of the Slave-Trade, have ordained and do ordain that which follows:—

ARTICLE I.—The sale of negro slaves, or Abyssinians, from family to family, shall be, and shall remain, prohibited in Egypt, in an absolute manner, upon all the territory comprised between Alexandria and Assouan. This prohibition shall take effect in seven years from the time of the signature of the said Convention, of which the present ordinance will form an integral part. The same prohibition will extend to the Soudan, and to the other Egyptian provinces, but only in twelve years from the date of the above-cited signature.

ARTICLE II.—Every infringement of this prohibition on the part of any individual whatsoever, subject to Egyptian jurisdiction, shall be punished with hard labour, of which the duration shall vary from a minimum of five months to a maximum of five years, according to the decision of the competent tribunal.

ARTICLE III.—The traffic in white male and female slaves shall be and shall remain prohibited upon all the extent of the Egyptian territory and dependencies. This prohibition will take effect in seven years from the date of the signature of the Convention above recited. Every infraction of the said prohibition will be punished conformably with the regulations of Article II. which precedes.

ARTICLE IV.—Our Minister of Justice remains charged with carrying into execution these presents.

(Signed)

ISMAIL.

In witness, the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

(Signed)

CHERIF.



THE *SPECTATOR* ON MR. McCOAN'S  
"EGYPT AS IT IS."

"MR. McCOAN ought to possess some good qualifications for writing on Oriental subjects. His long residence in Constantinople and his journalistic experiences there give him, in some ways, a peculiar advantage in dealing with the qualities of Mohammedan administration and the position of the Turkish Empire. Although apparently only familiar with Egypt personally as a tourist, it is hardly to be doubted that his long residence at the Porte must have familiarised the writer with much of Egyptian history, and we looked, therefore, with some interest at this volume. A plain, unvarnished account of the last sixteen years of Egyptian history is something which would at the present time be especially valuable. Mr. McCoan has, we are sorry to say, disappointed us most keenly. His book is a mere hash-up, for the most part, of guide-books and official materials, and his opinions are those of an advocate pleading for his client, rather than the impartial deliverances of a judge. Throughout the book facts are glossed over, excuses and palliatives urged, and a tone of panegyric indulged in, which serve to destroy all reliance on the writer's judgment. He must be the most simple and guileless of men, easily blinded by the most superficial statements, and capable of a large expenditure of a heavy wooden sort of enthusiasm upon the most transparent of social shams. The style of the book, too, is cumbersome and pretentious, and descends occasionally to the level of the vulgarest penny-a-lining; as when the writer habitually speaks of the Nile water as 'the precious fluid,' or when he pours out gushy paragraphs on the wonderful progress of Egypt and the marvellous qualities of its ruler. These are strong statements to make, and, we repeat, they are made with profound regret and disappointment. The excuse hinted at by the author, that the book has been rapidly got together with a view to supply information about Egypt at the present crisis of its history, will not hold good for a man of Mr. McCoan's information and real abilities. The book ought to have been much better than it is, and had its author not been swept away by an inconsiderate judgment and a misplaced zeal, we are persuaded that it would have been better.

"Having said so much, we must proceed to give proofs of the quality of the work, and the better to do so, will test it on one or two important points. To begin with the financial, Mr. McCoan swallows Egyptian budgets whole, and talks of Egyptian capacities and reforms as he would of English. We are told that its revenue is so-and-so and the expenditure is so-and-so, alongside statements about the growth of the Debt, which a moment's reflection would have told the writer were irreconcilable. The famous 'Cave Report' is enlarged upon, and treated throughout as if its subject was the finance accounts of an English Department. Yet between the lines there is some curious information given about the way loans were brought out and manipulated, which suggests strange reflections; as, for instance, when we are told that out of five loans, of a nominal value of £55,887,000, the 'Egyptian Treasury received only about £35,000,000 in cash, or its equivalent at the current market rate, and on this it had already repaid no less than £29,570,994, in interest and sinking funds, up to the end of 1875, when £46,734,500 nominal still remained to be redeemed. Could any more graphic picture of gross extravagance, gross fraud, and usury be drawn? And is it possible, after reading a statement like that, to sit down calmly and try to demonstrate that though the Egyptians may be nearly stripped to the skin, yet they are still capable of being squeezed for years, until the remainder of this debt and of the Khedive's private debt has been repaid? The cash proceeds of the 1873 loan were only about £11,000,000, we are told, though it was for the nominal amount of £32,000,000, and was issued in part at the price of over 70 per cent. of its par value. These are, indeed, curious and significant facts, and serve to enlighten the mind on Mr. Goschen's scheme in a way that the innocent-minded writer of this book does not dream of. He enters into large explanations of this scheme, thereby adding little to the value of his work, seeing that the newspapers have long ago thrashed that topic empty, and dwells on the wonderful development of Egypt *ad nauseam*.

"Of a piece with the financial simplicity of the writer is his wonderful admiration for the Khedive and all his works. Ignorant people, not honoured with this poten-

tate's acquaintance, are somewhat given to look upon him as a curious mixture of the shrewd speculator and the selfish simpleton, and foolishly imagine that certain facts in his history bear them out. But it is all a gross mistake, according to Mr. McCoan. Ismail Pasha, 'king' of the province of Egypt, is a most enlightened ruler, who has done a vast deal of good for his country. He has instituted French social fashions in his opera, in his dress and style of living—always barring the harem, and the traffic in slaves, black and white. He has made Cairo, in part, an European city, lighting its tawdry civilisation with gas, and by building railways and erecting telegraphs has established rapid means of communication with many parts of his dominions. Nay, has he not also extended his conquests far over the interior of Africa, by the help of Englishmen, and does he not encourage sugar-growing, harbour-building, and schemes innumerable for the 'development of Egypt'? Has he not, moreover, spent enormous sums in helping M. de Lesseps to make his Suez Canal? sums which he will never get back; and is he not at this present time busy with projects of all kinds, that only wait for money to blossom into magnificent jobs for the army of European hangers-on who frequent his Court?—everywhere push, 'progress,' new schemes, new conquests, and money, money,—a restless, insatiable ambition that consumes. This is the picture of the Khedive which Mr. McCoan in his enthusiasm paints for us, and seeks to get us cheated into admiring. But, in justice to him, we must say that he lets out enough to reveal the grim side of the picture,—not consciously or completely, still it is there. We could have wished, for example, that he had dwelt a little more on the obstinate fact that the whole of the Khedive's schemes centre entirely and absolutely in himself, that he has no thought of advancing the well-being of his people, but only of filling his own pockets, and that therefore he has gradually become the greatest landowner, the largest and most unscrupulous employer of labour, and the most unscrupulous and gigantic speculator of modern days. Egypt is his private estate, and he has ground it down to the very dust, with his rapacious endeavours to squeeze out of it all that his insatiable lusts required. That he has been the tool of de-

signing Jews and debased Englishmen or Levantines cannot be set down to his credit, but only to his ignorance and the inherent recklessness of his character. Mr. McCoan does not tell us enough about this, but the inherent honesty which he possesses lets out a great deal which, could he but see it, is most damaging to his advocacy. He tells us, while justifying it, that the fellaheen need the 'stick' to make them pay their heavy taxes. They deem it a 'point of honour,' it seems, to bear 'any amount' of beating in order to cheat the tax-gatherer, who hitherto has collected both for the Khedive's treasury and his own pocket. *So necessary is this 'stick' process, that Mr. McCoan fears bad results for the Egyptian revenue should the consciences of the new European treasurers who have been appointed under the elaborate scheme of Mr. Goschen fail to approve of its continuance.* Mr. McCoan lets us know, too, that these plucky but peculiar fellaheen are most wretchedly poor, and does not disguise the fact that the infamous *corvée* system is still in existence, though not, he insists, in so severe a form as prevailed some years ago. He fails to tell us in detail, however, wherein these modifications consist, and we feel the omission the more that we have heard, for instance, that poor women and starving children still fill the Khedive's costly sugar factories, and are worked there under the lash, starving often on the coarsest possible food, which they are frequently compelled to supply for themselves, and herding together like swine. Under pretence of paying them their wages, these miserable wretches are also compelled often to take quantities of coarse molasses and cane-refuse, scarcely fit to sustain life. It would have been a relief to the minds of most thinking English people, burdened as they are with the thought that our own miserable greed of long usury has not a little contributed to the wretchedness of this patient population, had Mr. McCoan dispelled all doubts on this point, and shown us the Khedive as earnest to be fair-dealing as he is greedy to be rich. But no; Mr. McCoan sails lightly by, with the adroitness and skill of a practised advocate, and mocks us with his own gushing palliatives and apologies, even when he does admit that his pet potentate has got just a little fault or two.

"Much more might be said on both the

speech and the silence of this superficial book, but space fails us. We will therefore only touch on one other point,—*slavery*. *The manner in which this crying iniquity is handled may be counted as good a test of the moral attitude of the author as any in the book, and on this point also he, to our thinking, fails.* He dwells on the happy position of the slave in Egypt, in comparison even with Turkey, telling us that of white slaves—i.e., Circassians—only women and a few boys are now imported, and describes the checks which the Khedive—himself of necessity still a slave-dealer and slave-holder—has imposed on the tendencies to cruelty which slave-masters would occasionally manifest in this happy country. And although deprecating the cruelties which may exist in the process of securing these necessary adjuncts of Egyptian respectability and civilisation, he comes to the conclusion that, on the whole, the Khedive has done as much as could reasonably be expected of him in making the trade nominally contraband. Had space permitted, we should have given the greater portion of the chapter on this subject, since it offers an admirable example of Mr. McCoan's pseudo-philosophical, apologetic style, but its length precludes extract. The sum of it, however, is that, after all, slavery is a very good thing in Egypt, and would be even, in a way, quite the correct thing, but for the ugly initiatory cruelties attending the supply. Of the real working of slavery on the civilisation of Egypt and on the "reforms" of the Khedive, we get no hint; and as the book is here, so is it all through. No one who wishes really to know what Egypt is, need go to it for light, unless he can read between the lines."—*Sept. 1, 1877.*

#### MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD ON COLONEL GORDON'S DIFFICULTIES.

"MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD writes from St. Helier, Jersey:—"The surprise which Colonel Gordon expresses upon finding that, with all his power of life and death, he cannot suppress the slave-trade is evidence of his sincerity. There are no more of the great caravans in which slaves were passed down from Upper Egypt in droves; but, says Colonel Gordon, "those little batches of four or five continue, and will do so unless I can find some remedy which I cannot as

yet see." Colonel Gordon "cannot see" because his back is turned to the "remedy." His eyes are towards the equator, fixed upon those sources of supply with which he is engaged. Is the case so hopeless? Must another generation pass away before the slave-trade is abolished in Egypt? I should say, "Yes, and another and another if the demand at Cairo and at Constantinople be not abolished." And it is in this all-important matter that the new Convention, valuable as it is, will prove a failure. So long as man can hold property in man, that property will possess exchangeable value, and will find a market in spite of all prohibition. So long as an Egyptian or a Turk can hold a boy in slavery there will be a premium upon kidnapping and mutilation. Though the slave market has been suppressed, the slave tariff is well known at Cairo. Mr. McCoan, a friendly critic of the Khedive's rule, has set it out in a recently-published volume. An Abyssinian boy is worth £20, and three times as much if mutilated; a white girl will fetch from £100 to £1,000. The effect of the Convention will be rather to increase than to lessen these prices. Every one who has been in Cairo or Constantinople is aware how thin is the veil which covers the daily brokering in human flesh and blood. For my own part, I feel sure that I have seen slaves imported as my fellow-passengers in English, French, and Austrian vessels. They travel as servants or relatives of the owners or dealers. Consul Blunt has reported his opinion that in this way slaves are introduced in every port of Turkey. The new Convention will be impotent, as Colonel Gordon confesses he, with all his power, is impotent, to put an end to the slave-trade. Is it, then, worthless? Certainly not. It is a step—a forcible step—in the right direction. But the price of England's friendship must be raised higher than this—to the level of free labour. The Khedive must abandon the employment of forced labour upon his Daira—must give his own slaves their freedom; he must, in fact, abolish slavery before he will be entitled to the praise which some are disposed to suggest is due for the decrees against the traffic in slaves promised in the Convention of the current month."—*Times.*



### PORTUGAL AND THE SLAVE-TRADE ON THE COASTS OF MOZAMBIQUE.

THE Earl of Derby gives the following summary of the position of affairs on the Mozambique Coast, through Mr. Watson, to Senhor Corvo, viz. :—

"The Portuguese Government have a nominal jurisdiction over an immense length of coast, at the back of which lies a productive but uncivilised country, over which they have no jurisdiction at all. Along this coast a few custom-houses have been established, through which all lawful trade must be conducted with the certainty of loss and the probability of further losses from confiscations, fines, and delays.

"The present Governor of Mozambique is an upright and conscientious officer, anxious to suppress the slave-trade, which is the bane of the country he administers; he is upon the most friendly terms with Captain Elton, who loses no opportunity of praising his honourable and conciliatory conduct. He is supported by instructions from the Portuguese Government, who are bound by treaties and promises to England to suppress the slave-trade, and who are, as Her Majesty's Government are convinced, sincerely desirous of putting an end to it.

"It is on the long line of Portuguese coast the slave-trade continues almost unchecked.

"It might seem scarcely necessary to point out that oppressive tariffs, vexatious regulations, and heavy fines, are serious impediments to trade, and produce but a small fraction of the revenue which would be derived from a more liberal system. In civilised countries these impediments are overcome by smuggling, and the loss to the Exchequer is easily calculated. In a country like that held by Portugal in Africa, the loss from the non-development of its resources is difficult to estimate, but the traffic which is encouraged is not smuggling but slave-trade.

"So long as the Portuguese Government make lawful trade hazardous, and comparatively unprofitable, men will be found to prefer a lawless traffic which offers, with but little, if any more, risk an enormous increase of profit."

Lord Derby offers to instruct Her Ma-

jesty's cruisers to assist in the suppression of the slave-trade along the Portuguese Coast, as fully as his Government could wish or would be willing to allow.

Several instances of cargoes of slaves being collected on the Mozambique Coast were certified and pressed on the attention of the Portuguese Government, who forthwith increased the number of their vessels on the Mozambique Coast for this duty; but these vessels were so badly manned that when the demand came they could not take any action, as Lord Derby says, "through the want of crews to man them."

Our readers will remember that a law has been passed by the Lisbon Cabinet, proclaiming the freedom of all *libertos* in Portuguese colonies twelve months after date of the proclamation of such law in each colony. This law was proclaimed in Mozambique on 29th January, 1876, and came therefore into operation on the 29th of January, 1877.

Mr. Consul Elton while acknowledging that this new law was a decided step in advance, reports to the Foreign Office, under date April 21, 1876, as follows :—

"It is to be regretted, nevertheless, that throughout the law no prohibition is placed upon the purchase of negro slaves by Portuguese subjects, and virtually, under the Portaria, No. 9, of 1875, it is still permitted (as I reported in 1875) to Portuguese subjects to buy slaves, who, from the mere fact of being purchased, are, by a legal fiction, supposed to become '*libertos*.' The collection of slaves in the interior, with its concomitant evils, must therefore be expected to continue, and, indeed, article 52, chap. 3 of the Regulations appears to be framed in more than indirect support of this very Portaria, No. 9, of 1875, referred to.

"Under chapter 8 returns are ordered to be made out of the number of registered *libertos*, for the subsequent payment of indemnification to their masters. As there certainly is not more than one slave from amongst every five (some say not more than one amongst every ten!) registered, the numbers under these returns cannot possibly be taken as in any way furnishing even an approximate idea of the number of slaves actually, and at the present moment, held in slavery in the Portuguese possessions in East Africa; therefore it will mainly depend

on the zeal and activity of officials employed in the execution of these regulations, and entirely upon the manner in which they are efficiently supported, both morally and materially, whether or no a law (which theoretically promises well) becomes practically a sweeping measure of complete reform, or virtually fails as a half-measure mainly confined to the comparatively small number of officially registered libertos, thus falling far short of that spirit of general emancipation, in no distant future, evidently before the minds of the Portuguese statesmen who framed these articles and provisos."

It is, therefore, obvious that slaves are not all free in Portuguese territory, and that even the slave-trade is countenanced in the colony itself—the registered *libertos* by no means including all the slaves of Portuguese subjects in Mozambique. This is a deplorable condition of things after the loud protestations and indignation of the last year against so-called misstatements of Portuguese complicity in the slave-trade. With all sadness and earnestness we commend the above facts to the serious consideration of the Portuguese Government.

#### CONSUL BEYTS ON THE SLAVE-TRADE AT JEDDAH.

FROM the Slave-trade Papers just issued, we quote the following extracts, which will enable our readers to realise the accuracy of the statements frequently made in the *Reporter*, and to hope that the British Government will not fail to make good use of the new Convention with Egypt.

"No. 205.

"*General Remarks.*—In addition to the Postal service performed fortnightly from Suez by the Egyptian steamers of the Poste Khedivia Company, the British Indian Steam Navigation Company's line of four weekly steamers from London to Bussorah makes Jeddah and Hodeida regular ports of call. This enterprising and prosperous company have also placed a steamer in the Red Sea to develop the trade of the Coast ports. The Austrian Lloyds' and Russian Company's lines of steamers running to Bombay have commenced calling in here. The Austrian Lloyds' run a monthly line from Constantinople to this place and Hodeida, which is so far subsidised that the Turkish Government pays the Canal dues

of the steamers, besides securing to the Company a monopoly of the trooping service. These steamers afford great facilities for supplying the Constantinople slave-market with fresh blood. The Africans shipped on board are protected with passes signed by the authorities, stating them to be families or servants of the soldiers; and as the slave-dealers themselves are invariably on board as passengers, it is easy to conjecture what results are attained on arrival at destination.

"*Slave-trade.*—Since the re-establishment of this Consulate, in March, 1874, slaves owned by British subjects have been emancipated, and the slave-market in the town closed; the traffic, however, continues unabated. The authorities are either powerless or unwilling to stop it. A few miles away from the town may be seen the slave depôts, from whence the slaves are brought in during the night and disposed of in daylight. The public inspection that takes place to enable purchasers to secure good bargains is as degrading as it can be, and most disgusting. It is chiefly the wives of wealthy Turks and Arabs who commit the atrocious, demoralising deeds of degradation to their own sex.

"The slaves are landed about Hodeida, and marched across the country to Mecca. That holy city is the grand emporium for slaves. From thence the selections are made for the Constantinople harems; the remainder are disposed of at Jeddah. The number annually imported is said to be about 30,000. They are brought across in Arab dhows from the Abyssinian and Nubian Coasts chiefly, but also from Matsulla and ports on the south-east coast of Arabia."

"No. 207.

"*Consul Beyts to the Earl of Derby.*—(Received March 13th, 1876.

"Jeddah, March 1, 1876.

"[EXTRACT.]

"I have the honour to report as follows:

"In January last five African slave boys appeared at this Consulate imploring my protection. They stated themselves to be slaves who had been emancipated by Dr. Kirk, at Zanzibar. An Arab, who was leaving in a buggalow, had prevailed on them to accompany him to Mecca, as his servants. On getting out to sea he destroyed their papers, and, on arrival at Jeddah, attempted

to sell them into slavery, when they ran away to the British Consulate.

"The Governor-General has supported the Arab in making a false statement that the boys in question were his servants, that they had been several years in his possession at Muscat, from whence he had lately brought them; but, considering that the boys do not understand a word of Arabic, and can only talk the language peculiar to Zanzibar, there can be no doubt that the Arab was lying, and that the boys' statement was most probably the correct one; at all events, I have deemed it to be my duty to retain the boys until I could communicate with Dr. Kirk.

"In the meantime, the Governor-General used his utmost efforts that I should release the boys on the guarantee of a private individual that they would be forthcoming should Dr. Kirk identify them. This I positively refused to do unless I had his own (the Governor-General's) guarantee, which he has not chosen to give me.

"Having forwarded the deposition of the boys to Dr. Kirk, after a lapse of two months, I have his reply. He cannot possibly identify the boys by their depositions, the records kept showing a multitude of similar names, but he believes the boys' statement is true, and suggested, if possible, that I should send them to him for identification. I am happy to inform your Lordship that I did so on the 23rd proximo, by the British India Steam Navigation Company's steamer *Agra*, free of expense to the Government, the boys working their passage. I also placed them under the charge of the captain of the steamer, having furnished them with protection papers.

"Since the occasion related, a grown-up African slave and his wife have been to this Consulate with a similar story to the foregoing one of the five boys. In this latter case the Governor-General has instructed the Kaimakam to grant me the required guarantee, upon which I have given up the slave and his wife, with the understanding that they shall be produced should Dr. Kirk identify them to be British emancipated slaves.

"I have further the honour to report that I have just now returned from a visit to Hodeida, where I found over 1,000 British Indian subjects settled.

"A collection of 500 huts was pointed out

to me, in which I was assured that 850 slaves were then actually collected, 400 boys and 450 girls, and that the importations are made from Massowah, with the full knowledge of the authorities, who receive at Hodeida five dollars as backsheesh fee on each slave landed, but this was not known at Constantinople.

"It is even asserted that the Wallee of the Hedjaz derives an income upon slave importation, but this needs confirmation. It is, however, a fact that the official has very Conservative Moslem principles, and he is very energetic in repelling reforms or omitting innovations.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed) G. BEYTS."

"No. 210.

"*Consul Beyts to the Earl of Derby (received June 19).*

"*Jeddah, May 30, 1876.*

"MY LORD,—It becomes my duty to report that slave-trade operations have increased much of late. Buggalows, under Turkish colours, now fearlessly enter the port, and in broad daylight land their cargoes of slaves. The Quarantine levy a fee of ten piastres on each slave, when they are passed through the Custom-House gate into the town.

"To satisfy myself of this being the truth, I proceeded, in company with the Vice-Consul, Mr. Wylde, and the Consular dragoman, to the Custom-House gate which faces the town, and there, at noon-day, we saw and counted a batch of slaves—boys and girls—numbering ninety-six, who were just landed, and being driven through the gate like a flock of sheep.

"I immediately addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Acting-Governor.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed) G. BEYTS."

#### THE SLAVE-TRADE IN TRIPOLI (TURKEY). THE SLAVE-MARKET AT JALO.

CONSUL HENDERSON, having been instructed to ascertain whether the rumour of an extensive slave-trade at Jalo were accurate, proceeded, in spite of official obstruction, to Jalo, hoping to reach that place before the arrival there of a large caravan which was due. Mr. Henderson writes: "The caravan arrived two days before me, and I was un-



able, therefore, to verify by personal observation, the exact number of slaves it brought; but I saw and learnt quite enough to convince me of the magnitude and atrocity of the slave-trade at this place.

I was informed that 252 had arrived by this caravan; but I can only assert that it brought 118, as I was enabled to verify this number myself. . . . Two hours before entering the oasis, we met four slaves in charge of an Arab, on their way to Oyla. And, as we entered the palm groves, we met another Arab leading a female slave by a rope tied round her waist. These slaves had arrived by the caravan. A little further on, some ten or twelve were crouching round a well. I went up and examined them,—they had also arrived by the caravan, and could not speak a word of Arabic."

#### CONDITION OF THE SLAVES.

"They were emaciated to mere skeletons; their long thin legs and arms, and the apparently unnatural size and prominence of their knees, elbows, and hand and feet, giving them a most repulsive and shocking appearance; and I have never seen in all my life a more distressing spectacle than they presented. I have seen the slaves in Cuba, and in Brazil, but their very value in those countries insures their being well fed and well treated. The poor creatures who are brought to Jalo from the interior do not fetch more than £10 to £12, and if one out of every three reaches Jalo alive, the owner still realises a profit which amply repays him for all his risks, as the cost of a slave in Wadai is from three pieces of calico upwards."

#### HORRORS OF THE ROUTE FROM WARAH TO JALO.

"Twenty-three degrees these miserable beings traverse on foot, naked, under a burning sun, with a cup of water and a handful of maize every twelve hours for their support. For fourteen days, between Tukkrü and Jahieda, not a drop of water is found, and the caravan pursues its weary journey, depending for its very existence on the girbas which have been fitted up at the wells of Takkrü. Thirst and hunger in vain lessen the number of exhausted negroes; in vain they drop down wayworn and fainting on the dreary journey, to die a frightful death in the desert.

"The market at Jalo must be supplied, and supplied it is, but at what a cost of

human life! Jalo is an important oasis, &c. Its population cannot number less than 8,000. . . .

"During the last four months, six large caravans have left for Wadai, &c. The trade is in the hands of Arabs, and its ever-increasing proportions will certainly cause a relative increase of the traffic in slaves."

#### CONNIVANCE OF THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES.

"I was fortunate enough to procure the names of the owners of 118 slaves, already mentioned. . . . And immediately on my return to Bewgazi, I handed the list of 43 names to the Governor, who promised to take steps to capture them on their arrival here. Many have been smuggled into the town during the last fortnight, but only three have as yet been captured and liberated."—*Blue-book. Slave-trade Papers*, 1877.

#### ROYAL PROCLAMATION, FORBIDDING THE IMPORTATION OF AFRICAN SLAVES INTO MADAGASCAR, AND GIVING FREEDOM TO ALL AFRICANS HELD IN SLAVERY BY THE MALAGASE.

THE news brought by the last mail from Madagascar will delight our readers. Many circumstances have combined to bring about a crisis on the slave-trade question in this interesting island. The appeals made by the Anti-Slavery Society to the Christian Queen and her Consort: the consciousness that the recent treaty with Great Britain, prohibiting the importation of African slaves, had produced no result—nay, had been notoriously violated: the remonstrance of the British Consul at Tamatave: the active measures taken by British cruisers to capture dhows engaged in the slave-trade, to the extent of seizing dhows in Malagase waters, and taking away slaves just landed on the island: the bold farewell address of our friend Mr. James Sewell, in which he pointed out to the native Christians the gross inconsistency of slavery and Christianity: the wild rumours circulated by ignorant natives, that England would enforce the treaty, and invade the island, &c.—these circumstances pressed upon the serious attention of the Queen and her noble Consort the necessity for immediate and fresh action.

The question was critical. The deliberations

were limited to the importation of *African slaves*. The internal trade in slaves, and the retention of the Malagase in bondage, were rigidly excluded from consideration. It is not true, as several papers have expressed it, that slavery has been abolished in Madagascar. The royal proclamation only refers to the foreign trade, and liberates all Africans held in slavery. Provision is made for the emancipated, and all are taken under the direct protection of the Government, which makes itself responsible for the protection and maintenance. This resolution shows a decided progress; and although it would have been a nobler deed to abolish slavery altogether, we rejoice at the advance made, and take it as a pledge of the speedy abolition of slavery throughout the island. For surely the cruelty of buying and selling their own brethren, or of retaining them in slavery, while foreigners are made free, cannot long be endured by the growing intelligence and Christian conscience of professing Christians. There was evidently a fear of foreign intervention; and our readers will notice that the Prince Consort distinctly repudiates all foreign interference in "domestic questions." By laying stress upon national independence, and repudiating foreign interference, the great gathering were won over to his own views, and to the hearty acceptance of the Queen's proclamation.

The events of the great day are so full of interest, and are so well described by our brethren in Madagascar, that we shall not hesitate to give our readers some full extracts from their correspondence. Gloomy as are the prospects of freedom in other parts of the world, we hail with thankfulness and joy the advance made in the Island of Madagascar.

The Queen's proclamation was read by the Prince Consort at a Kabary, consisting of some 50,000 people, assembled in the capital on June 20th, 1877. Printed copies had been previously circulated, in thousands, throughout the length and breadth of the land. There was a deep aversion to the emancipation in many who were unwilling to surrender their slaves, and much anxiety was felt by well-wishers to the cause of freedom.

The Rev. James Richardson writes, June 21st :—

"We have seen for some weeks past that

something important was about to take place, and the people have been in an unwonted state of excitement. The guns have been fired at unexpected times during the night and day, especially on the day (more than a fortnight ago) when the step was finally decided on, and again when the Kabary was printed. They were fired again when the messengers were despatched, carrying them to all the chief Government towns; and again on Monday and Tuesday, when the officers above a certain rank were informed of what import the Kabary was.

"Thousands of people began making their way up to the capital on Monday, and by Tuesday the place was crowded.

"The usual military assemblage met at Imahamasina on the Tuesday, and throughout the whole of Tuesday night and Wednesday morning we were kept awake by the crowds of people coming from the north and north-east to attend on the Wednesday morning.

"We were not invited to be present, but some of us got to understand that we were at liberty to attend should we feel disposed.

"By eight o'clock the place was comparatively filled, and by ten o'clock, when I went up, there could not have been less than 50,000 persons assembled on the plain at Andohalo.

"We were not many; the whole European company present within the enclosure consisting of Messrs. Toy, Grainge, Moss, Pickersgill, and myself, of the L.M.S.; Mr. Clark, of the F.F.M.A.; and Mr. and Mrs. Gregory, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Coles, of the S.P.G. The French and the traders viewed the scene from a distance, and there were several ladies on the verandahs of the surrounding houses.

"I had difficulty in making my way up to the enclosure, but by the exercise of a little complimentary and conciliatory language I got safely through the dense mass of people; and one of the officers quickly provided each one of us with an arm-chair of native make. We had an uninterrupted view of the whole proceeding, and as there were no soldiers in front of us, we had not the least difficulty in seeing and hearing all.

"Exactly at half-past eleven the guns announced the departure of the Prime Minister and his party from the palace. All the guns around the capital were fired, and the hum

and expectation of the vast assemblage was something wonderful. The day up to this had been cloudy and wet, a bitter east wind blowing, and the small rain coming down at times, and making one shiver from cold and damp. I could not but look upon it as a just expression of the feeling of the people—as they had got to know by whispers here and there of what was going to happen—a cold, bitter feeling against all and sundry persons who were about to put an end to the iniquitous traffic in human blood, and rob them of their ill-gotten gains; and the sun forcing its way through the mist and clouds as symbolic of the ever-increasing power of the Sun of Righteousness upon the heart and mind of the nation.

“The first to make their appearance on the road from the palace opening into Andohalo were nine of the ancient wives of the sovereign (Izy roa amby ny folo vavy), and the Queen’s children, carried in palanquins, dressed in scarlet cloaks and covered by scarlet umbrellas, symbolic of royalty. These were followed by eight boys (!) in charge of a small cannon on wheels, and which was fired at intervals on the road down. They were followed by a company of boy soldiers, dressed in a most becoming uniform of a blueish-grey colour, with dark stripes on the trousers, the arms of their tunics, and across the breast. Each had a Snider rifle, with bayonet attached. They marched in good military order, and were certainly the lions of the day. In true military array, and in good order, they took up a position to the south of the space which had been left clear. They were under the command of two young men in ‘Lovett’s’ uniform, and Razanakombana in a field marshal’s. Behind them came the Queen’s band, and then the Prime Minister himself in glittering uniform, five medals on his breast, a brilliant star above them, a scarf richly embroidered with gold lace across his breast, and a hussar cap also richly embroidered. He rode his spirited charger, and was followed by Drs. Mackie and Parker, and a large company of officers and young men, all in civil attire.”

#### RECEPTION OF THE KABARY.

Silence having been restored, and the National Anthem performed by the two bands, the Prime Minister delivered an address to the assembled multitudes, which was listened to with the utmost enthusiasm.

“He then received from the oldest of the

‘roa amby ny folo vavy’ the Kabary of the day. He did this with marked effect, the poor tottering old lady being helped from her palanquin, and putting the pamphlet in his hands, with commands from the Queen to declare to all her faithful subjects.

“I could not but admire the clever way in which he had led the people up to this point. He had occupied their attention for a full hour; he had, in the Queen’s name, again and again assured them, to their unbounded delight, that he would not have anything to do with any interference with them in their own domestic politics; the energy and fire of the vast assembly had been turned into that subject; and with a firm voice, with supreme energy, he read paragraph by paragraph of the important document, ending each paragraph with a flourish of his sword; and to the call, ‘Fsa tsy izay, ry Ambanilanitra?’ the drums were beaten, the cannon was fired, and the whole 50,000 throats bellowed out ‘Izay.’

“But the supreme moment came at the 16th, 17th, and 18th paragraphs. At the 17th, when he spoke of the ‘halatra,’ his excitement became intense. He left the printed paper, and in most eloquent terms told them that *Her Majesty was a Christian—that they professed to be Christians*. He recounted the sufferings of the poor Mozambiques as they were torn from home and friends, crowded into miserable boats by the villainous Arabs; how they would, at sight of an English man-of-war, throw two and three hundred overboard; how they were brought to Madagascar and sold to them—with uplifted sword he called God to witness that the Queen had willed that the unholy traffic should cease! It was a moment of intense excitement. All seemed to forget that their slaves were going—and the vast assembly burst into a tremendous cheer, waving swords, &c., &c.; and we, the little company of Englishmen, took off our hats and added our tumultuous ‘Hurrahs!’ to the general noise, making up by force of lung for our paucity of numbers. Those memorable words, appealing as they did to the Supreme Governor of the Universe, lifted the day above treaties and treaty-right, and placed the matter upon the grand old saying of the Master’s—‘Love thy neighbour as thyself;’ ‘what ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.’ I could have shouted myself hoarse as I thus wit-



nessed the Queen and Prime Minister setting aside the treaty and going back to the Word of the Lord, by freeing every man, woman, and child, who had been brought across the seas, from the miserable thralldom of slavery. Such words must tell upon the future of Madagascar, and will, doubtless, bear fruit in after years."

#### PROBABLE ISSUE.

"The princes, judges, and heads of the people then went up to present *hasina*. The missionaries also expressed to the Prime Minister their pleasure at the words to which they had been listening.

*"Among those who came up to present 'hasina' were six genuine Mozambiques who for the first time came to present their dollar as free men, and who were received publicly among the ranks of the people as free men."*

"An Arab also came up with four slaves, and promised that he would carefully observe the message. I could not refrain, as they came up and awaited their turn to present 'hasina,' from indulging in some sharp language as to who were at the bottom of the disreputable business; some of the people joined me, and they betook themselves to a more distant spot to escape my reproaches.

"It was five o'clock before all had done, and then the Prime Minister took up the matter again. He had been sitting under a large green umbrella during the two hours. He told them that now he must place himself among the number of those who had heard the Queen's message. He first thanked them all, however, for their expressions of confidence in himself, and assured them that he would care most scrupulously for the welfare of the Queen and the kingdom. *'Thanks to the teaching of God,'* he cried, *'the unholy and wicked thing is put an end to by this Kabary going beyond all treaty claims.'* He sprang from the ground again and again, and the drums were beaten, the cannon was fired, the swords of the officers were waved high, and all seemed lost in excitement as he cried repeatedly, *'Afaka amin' izao izany fandotoana izany'* (*We are now freed from the dirty thing*).

"The party returned to the palace in the order in which they arrived, and the assembly broke up at 5.30.

"I hurried away with the crowd, trying to catch their words, and understand how they took it. I appealed to many, in the

tedious progress to my own house; and one and all declared that the thing was done for, and that no Mozambique could ever be a slave again in Madagascar.

"I have talked to my lads and teachers to-day, and all declare that this is the death-blow to the making slaves of any who come or have come across the seas.

"Some of my teachers from the country were here this afternoon, and they, too, declare that the thing is done with.

"One of the Queen's students, whose grandfather remembers the Kabaries of sixty or seventy years, says there never was such a Kabary in his experience, and that all hope of ever having a Mozambique slave again is at an end.

"The people are unanimous in saying that after such a Kabary, and the heavy penalties attaching to their being held in bondage, everybody will hasten to get rid of his Mozambiques, and that only such as are weary of life, and would throw themselves away, will retain even so much as a little baby, if his father or mother are Mozambique.

"Of course some provision must be made for them. They must have rice ground given them, and they will have to be organised into a tribe or something of the kind. I believe the Queen has prepared for all that.

"Give God thanks for what has been done. Pray that we may have grace given us to preach a true and pure Gospel; and freedom must come where the liberty we have in Christ is proclaimed."

The pledge is now given. The law has been made and proclaimed. Death is the penalty for holding African slaves. We must wait and watch the issue.

#### THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION.

The Proclamation is divided into five sections, and is addressed "To the assembled people at Andohalo, and published throughout the kingdom of Madagascar on the 20th June (11 Alakaosy), 1877." The following is the text of the concluding clauses of Section V.:—

"Now, the kingdom having been given by God to me, I declare that I will put a stop to these evils, for I am a sovereign *tsy mba tia vezovezo* ('who hates disturbance or quarrelsomeness').

"Therefore I decree that I set free all the Mozambiques in my kingdom to be my

Ambaniandro (subjects), whether those newly introduced or those who have been here for a long time. For is it not so! ye under heaven?

"And if there is any one who will not obey this edict, but still holds the Mozambiques as slaves, I shall count such as criminals, and the penalty of the laws shall be enforced upon them. For is it not so! Oh ye under heaven?

"And I also decree that whoever has traded in Mozambiques can no longer make a legal claim in respect of such transactions. And should such take place, he that makes such a claim shall be held guilty. For is it not so! ye under heaven?

"And if this decree of mine is perverted by any one to deceive the wise or incite the simple, and so cause disturbances in my kingdom, then whoever he may be I will hold him guilty, and condemn him to death, for I am a Sovereign that will not deceive.

"Again I declare unto you, ye under heaven, that whoever obeys the laws of Andrianampoinimerina, and alters not the decrees of Lchidama, Rabodonandrianampoinimerina, and Rasoherimanjaka, and especially observes my own decrees, for I, Queen Ranaivalomanjaka, am heir to those who reigned before me, then rest assured that I am the protector of your wives, your children and your property; and when I say Trust me, then rest assured. For is it not so! ye under heaven?"

We give translations of the proclamations made to the district officers, for the purpose of carrying out the emancipation of Africans, and providing for their immediate necessities:—

(No. 1.)

PROCLAMATION BY THE QUEEN OF MADAGASCAR TO THE CHIEF MEN IN THE VILLAGES, AND OTHERS IN AUTHORITY.

"And this is what I say to you. If there are any Mozambiques sent away from their masters, and have become free people, because they are not slaves any longer; and who do not wish to live with their masters any more, but who have no friends and no houses to live in, nor food to eat; then, if there are such, then you must provide them with houses and food, for this is Government business. Therefore, take good care of this until I arrange what shall be done. Nevertheless, if there are any such

with you, then let me quickly know the number and their condition. And if I hear that there are Mozambiques suffering for want of food, or persecuted, then I make you responsible and blameable for it. Says

"RANAVALOMANJAKA,

"Queen of Madagascar.

"21st June, 1877."

(No. 2.)

PROCLAMATION BY THE QUEEN OF MADAGASCAR TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE LARGE TOWNS AND THE OFFICERS, ETC., ETC.

"And this is what I say to you. According to my proclamation of June 20th, all the Mozambiques in my kingdom are free and are no longer slaves. Therefore write down the number of such in your districts, and let me know it.

"And you must give them land suitable to plant, so that they may gain a living; but tell them plainly that they cannot sell this land; for the land is mine; and you know that the Mozambiques are not very wise, and may be easily deceived, and induced by people to sell for very little the land given them, and thus be left again with no means of living. This is why I do not allow them to sell the land, and if there are those who buy land from the Mozambiques, their money will be lost. And advise well the Mozambiques to be diligent to work, that they may earn a living. And let them live in whatever part of my kingdom they like. And if there are any Mozambiques distressed for want of food, you must provide for them; nevertheless advise them well to work. But if I hear that there are Mozambiques suffering for want of food, or persecuted, then I make you responsible and blameable for this. Says

"RANAVALOMANJAKA,

"Queen of Madagascar.

"21st June, 1877."

(No. 3.)

PROCLAMATION BY THE QUEEN OF MADAGASCAR TO THE GOVERNORS OF ALL THE CHIEF TOWNS.

"And this is what I say to you. All the Mozambiques in my kingdom have become free subjects, and the Arabs, &c., have not power to take the Mozambiques out of my land and kingdom, or to put them on board ships to cross the seas, even although they pay them wages. And they are the reason of my words, because many of the Arabs

and others are very bad people, and they will sell in other countries those Mozambiques whom they take away from my country, and this will make me very sorrowful, because we do not free people that they may be taken over the seas to be sold.

"Therefore, take very good care of this my word, for if there are Mozambiques taken by the Arabs over the seas, then this will condemn you and make you guilty. Therefore take very great care [repeated twice] of this my word. Says

"RANAVALOMANJAKA,

"Queen of Madagascar."

"This is indeed the word of Ranavalomanjaka, Queen of Madagascar, says

"RAINILAIARIVONY,

"Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief.

"June 21st, 1877."

#### GRADUAL PROGRESS OF EMANCIPATION IN BRAZIL.

Our correspondent, under date September 4th, 1877, writes:—

"I am glad to inform you that here the work is going on satisfactorily, and that since the Act of 28th September, 1871, was passed, the number of slaves existing in the Empire, by a Return made up to 31st December, 1875, were 1,419,966, distributed in 21 provinces, viz.—

Amazonas	...	...	1,130
Para	...	...	25,916
Maranhão	...	...	63,967
Piauí	...	...	24,318
Ceará	...	...	33,409
Rio Grande do Norte	...	...	12,858
Paraná	...	...	26,033
Pernambuco	...	...	93,752
Sta. Catarina	...	...	13,884
São Pedro	...	...	77,633
Alagoas	...	...	30,216
Sergipe	...	...	27,634
Bahia	...	...	165,403
Espírito Santo	...	...	22,659
Rio de Janeiro (City)	...	...	44,775
Rio de Janeiro (Prov.)	...	...	278,212
S. Paulo	...	...	154,861
Paraná	...	...	9,792
Minas Geraes	...	...	298,496
Goyaz	...	...	7,888
Mato Grosso	...	...	7,130

The number manumitted by the funds appropriated under the Act for that purpose is 2,258, but the most gratifying fact of all is that 22,674 slaves have been made free by the liberality of their owners. I myself was at a wedding the other day in Omo Pioto—a daughter of the proprietor of the official newspaper, Sr. F. F. Paula Castro: and he celebrated the occasion by giving freedom to his black—not old and worn out—only about thirty-two years old. When the padre read the manumission at the festive board, there was much enthusiasm. The name of the black, I think, was Xicho. It was a very gratifying circumstance indeed. This system is spreading of celebrating happy events by giving freedom to slaves, and people well-off seldom make their wills without providing for the freedom of part or all of their blacks. The number of free children born of slave mothers since the passing of the Act, to 31st December, 1875, is 155,681, but the returns of two provinces are not yet in. The children have to serve till twenty-one years of age, unless the owner of the mother elects to take a bond of the Government for £60, bearing interest at 6 per cent. for thirty years; in which case the Government takes charge of the child at eight years of age. This of course has not yet come into operation, the time not having expired in which any children could arrive at eight years of age; but it will, I think, lead to hardship, the separation of mother and child. The Brazilians themselves are a much more humane race than the Portuguese."

#### TRANSPORT OF SLAVES UNDER EUROPEAN FLAGS.

LAST year we called the attention of the Foreign Office to the transport of slaves from one Brazilian port to another, by ships bearing the English flag. It was also well known and duly represented in the proper quarters that a similar transport was conducted on French and German vessels. Our readers will be glad to learn that, through the energetic action of the Earl of Derby, an absolute stop was put to this practice on board British vessels, and, through his intervention, the same result



was obtained through the French and German Governments.

It will scarcely be believed how widespread this practice has been, and, under the most transparent veils, slaves have been conveyed from port to port under European flags.

Under date "Smyrna, February 11th, 1876," Mr. Consul Cumberbakh reports to the Earl of Derby:—

"That there were ten slaves on board the Austrian steamer *Memphis*.

"That on the same day three slaves were discovered on board the Russian steamer *Odessa*, from Egypt.

"That the British steamer, *Ann Smith*, arrived at this port from Jeddah on the 9th instant, with thirteen young African slaves on board, four of whom were landed here, and secured by the Turkish authorities, the remaining nine proceeding in the same vessel to Constantinople."

On March 10th, 1876, (Smyrna):—

"That there were three young female slaves in charge of a slave-dealer, on board the British steamer, *Egyptian*, arriving from Malta, and proceeding the same evening to Constantinople."

Acting Consul Joly reports from the same station, on May 13th, 1876, that he had discovered three slaves on board the British steamship, *Arcadia*, from Malta, bound for Constantinople. Also, on August 17th, 1876, three African slaves were discovered on board the British steamship *Cherbourg*, en route for Syria, Smyrna, and Constantinople.

These illustrations will suffice to suggest how widely other flags than English are implicated in the transport of slaves through the Red Sea, and from the East Coast of Africa. The pretext is that they are either domestic slaves, or servants, or pilgrims; and so enormous was this traffic last year, that Consul Beyts reports as follows to the Earl of Derby:—

"Jeddah, May 30th, 1876.

"MY LORD,—It becomes my duty to report that slave-trade operations have increased much of late. Buggalows, under Turkish colours, now fearlessly enter the port, and in broad daylight land their cargoes of slaves. The Quarantine levy a fee of ten piastres on each slave when they are passed through the Custom House gate to the town. To satisfy myself of this

being the truth, I proceeded, in company with the Vice-Consul, Mr. Wylde, and the Consular Dragoman, to the Custom House gate, which faces the town, and there at noonday we saw and counted a batch of slaves—boys and girls—numbering 96, who were just landed, and being driven through the gate like a flock of sheep. I immediately addressed a letter of remonstrance to the acting Governor.

"I have, &c.,

"C. BEYTS."

It will be remembered that the new Convention with Egypt enables the English Foreign Office to deal only with vessels bearing the Egyptian flag. The Turkish flags will still wave over cargoes of slaves.

#### M. VICTOR SCHÆLCHER ON THE NATAL AND MOZAMBIQUE CONVENTION FOR TRANSPORT OF LABOUR TO NATAL.

WE are greatly indebted to our excellent friend M. Victor Schœlcher for his persistent endeavours to expose the wrongs which may arise in working out this Convention. The element of contract is persisted in, which shows clearly enough that neither party believe in voluntary labour. Some amount of compulsion must be introduced. We are glad to learn from the Slave-trade Papers that Lord Derby "is of opinion that it would not be politic to allow any slaves which may be captured by H. M.'s cruisers and landed temporarily in Mozambique, to be apprenticed, or engaged in any way in the Portuguese Possessions on the East Coast of Africa. The following extract will explain the action of M. V. Schœlcher:—

"In two recent issues of *L'Echo Universel* M. Victor Schœlcher, the French Senator, calls attention to a Convention entered into two years ago between the Governor of Natal and the Governor of Mozambique, by which the former is permitted to recruit labourers in the Portuguese territories on the East Coast of Africa. It appears that the labourers dealt with by this treaty are—(1), emancipated negroes at Mozambique, and (2), the victims of the slave-trade captured by British cruisers, which are authorised to place these unfortunate beings in dépôt at Lorenzo Marques. The Convention declares that the blacks shall be entirely free in all their relations, and that

their emigration to Natal shall be perfectly voluntary on their part; but it seems that whether they elect to immigrate or to remain, they are required, in either case, to engage themselves to an employer for three years. According to M. Schœlcher, there is no security that this triennial engagement may not be compulsorily renewed until practically it results in life-long servitude. Moreover, no provision is made either for the payment of wages or for fixing the hours of work. No doubt these details are settled in Natal by local enactment; but, nevertheless, the system is open to grave objections. It can hardly be said that the negroes are free, seeing that they have no choice but to bind themselves for a term of years, which apparently may be indefinitely prolonged, to such employers as either the Portuguese or the Natal authorities may select for them. There is, therefore, considerable force in M. Schœlcher's remark that England is doing on the East Coast of Africa an act which she blamed the Empire for doing on the western side of the continent. This, he says, is what is now happening:—'Some of our planters ask why, if it is permitted to England to engage free blacks on Portuguese territory, it should not be permitted to France to engage them on the coast of Congo?' This question, perhaps, admits of a satisfactory answer; but it would, we fear, be difficult to convince the planters of Réunion or Martinique that the liberated blacks are likely to receive better treatment in Natal than in the French colonies, or

that, in compelling them to work for English planters, we are really influenced by that pure spirit of philanthropy which is supposed to govern all the measures we take in connection with the slave-trade."

#### SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS RECEIVED SINCE OUR LAST ISSUE.

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"I give to the TREASURER for the time being, or to the person for the time being acting as such, of THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and whose receipt I direct shall be a sufficient discharge for the same, the sum of £            sterling [free of Legacy Duty], to be applied for the general purposes of the said Society, to be fully paid out of such part of my personal estate as is legally applicable to such purpose."

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Registered for transmission abroad.



THE RIGHT HON. A. H. LAYARD  
AND  
THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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BEING  
A COPY OF THE LETTER ADDRESSED BY  
MR. LAYARD TO M. LABOULAYE,  
AS PUBLISHED AMONG THE SLAVE-TRADE PAPERS  
RECENTLY LAID BEFORE PARLIAMENT;  
TOGETHER WITH  
REMARKS ON CERTAIN MIS-STATEMENTS  
CONTAINED THEREIN.

---

LONDON:  
ELLIOT STOCK, 61, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

PRICE SIXPENCE.



WE regret to have to call the attention of our friends and supporters to a letter addressed by Mr. Layard, late Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Madrid, to M. Laboulaye, in which His Excellency takes exception to some portion of that part of "Un Continent Perdu,"\* which has reference to Spain, and also to the conduct of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Its publication among the Slave-Trade Papers, where it is out of our power to meet it at the present time, imposes upon us the necessity to publish our remarks upon it, in doing which we give Mr. Layard's letter *in extenso*, that the public may be in a position to form its own judgment in the case.

*Anti-Slavery Office,*  
27, New Broad Street,  
3rd Oct., 1877.

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\* "Un Continent Perdu, ou l'Esclavage et la traite en Afrique." Par Joseph Cooper. Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglais et contenant une préface de M. Ed. Laboulaye, Membre de l'Institut, Député à l'Assemblée Nationale. 2nd Edition. Paris : Librairie Hachette et Cie, 79, Boulevard Saint-Germain, 79.

## SPAIN.

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“No. 170.

“*Mr. Layard to the Earl of Derby.—(Received Feb. 14)*

“MADRID, Feb. 8, 1876.

“MY LORD,—M. E. Laboulaye, a member of the Institute of France, and recently a Deputy to the National Assembly, has translated a work by Mr. Cooper, a gentleman well known from his connection with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, entitled, I believe, ‘A Lost Continent’ (‘Un Continent Perdu’). M. Laboulaye has sent me a copy of his translation, and, to give it the greatest possible publicity, has, I am informed, circulated it widely amongst the Representatives of foreign Governments in this and other countries. I should not have considered it necessary to take notice of any statements coming from Mr. Cooper, but as so high an authority as M. Laboulaye has thought fit to give them the sanction of his name, I have thought it my duty, in a letter which I have addressed to him, and a copy of which I venture to enclose, to protest against the charges which Mr. Cooper has made, without any truth or foundation whatever, against Her Majesty’s Government and myself with regard to the question of abolition of slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico.

“I have, &c.,

“(Signed)      A. H. LAYARD.”

“ INCLOSURE IN No. 170.

“ *Mr. Layard to M. Laboulaye.*

“ MADRID, Feb. 7, 1876.

“ SIR,—I have received the copy of ‘Un Continent Perdu,’ which you have been good enough to send me. I have been prevented by indisposition from thanking you for it before to-day.

“ Mr. Cooper’s peculiar mode of dealing with facts is so well known in England, that I should not consider it necessary to take any notice of statements coming from him. But when those statements are republished with the sanction and authority of your name, they acquire importance, and demand some notice from me.

“ I am convinced that you, at least, have a regard for truth, and as I may claim the honour of being your colleague, as a corresponding member of the Academy of Inscriptions, I venture to believe that, should you publish another edition of your translation of Mr. Cooper’s work, you will rectify its inaccuracies and misstatements as far as they concern myself.

“ In exposing them I shall only refer to official documents, of which, I regret to say, Mr. Cooper cannot plead ignorance. Those documents are the Slave-Trade Papers, presented to Parliament by the English Government during the years 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1874.

“ My official position forbids me from referring to others which Her Majesty’s Government has not con-



sidered it desirable to publish, but which would furnish even stronger proof, were any required, of the entire want of foundation for Mr. Cooper's assertions.

" 1. At page 91 of the 'Continent Perdu,' it is stated that, after the revolution of 1868 (in your translation), 'un riche et puissant parti à Cuba, le peuple entier en Espagne se montrant impatient de voir la fin de l'esclavage, on aurait pu raisonnablement espérer que le Cabinet Anglais profiterait des circonstances pour amener ce grand mouvement à un résultat sérieux.'

" This statement infers two things which are contrary to fact.

" 'The whole Spanish people was not impatient for the abolition of slavery in Cuba.' Unfortunately, the contrary was and is the case. There was, no doubt, a political party then powerful, and comprising many enlightened men who were in favour of abolition, but the country was indifferent to it, and the opposition to it of men of great wealth and of great influence, of various political parties, and of the majority of the Spanish press, was of a very formidable nature, so much so that, as I have stated in a published despatch (Slave-Trade Papers for 1874, page 18), the fall of the monarchy of King Amadeo may be partly attributed to it. Her Majesty's Government did do all that they properly could do to promote this great measure, and with no little success.

" As regards my own share in the matter, I will only refer you to the correspondence laid before the British Parliament (to which I have already referred),

especially in 1873 and 1874, and which, in justice to myself, I trust that you will read.

“ That correspondence which is, no doubt, easily accessible in Paris, is entitled, ‘Correspondence respecting Slavery and the Slave-Trade,’ and is annually presented to the House of Commons.

“ 2. It is absolutely untrue that after the death of Lord Clarendon any change whatever took place in the attitude of the English Government, in the question of slavery, as asserted by Mr. Cooper. Upon this great question there is no difference of opinion amongst English statesmen of all parties.

“ 3. The whole of Mr. Cooper’s statements as regards the law abolishing slavery in Puerto Rico (pages 91 and 92 of your translation), are entirely contrary to facts which must be perfectly well known to him, otherwise he must be culpably ignorant of the matter on which he writes.

“ The intention of the Spanish Government to abolish slavery in Puerto Rico was first publicly intimated by King Amadeo in his speech to the Cortes on 15th September, 1872, and in the reply they agreed to give to it (See Slave-Trade Papers for 1873, page 37). On 20th December of that year Senhor Zorrilla, then President of the Council, declared in both Chambers of the Cortes, the intentions of his Government to bring in at once a Bill for the immediate abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico (see same Papers, page 53).

“ On 22nd December, in a great debate in the Congress (or Second Chamber), this determination of King

Amadeo's Government was approved by a majority of 202 (214 against 12).

"On the 25th, 'the Project of Law for the immediate abolition of Slavery in Puerto Rico' was presented to the Congress, according to Señor Zorrilla, with the special sanction and approval of the King (page 56 of same Parliamentary Papers). That approval was expressed by His Majesty in the strongest terms to the Presidents of the Senate and Congress, in answer to the addresses presented to him on the first day of the new year, 1873 (Slave-Trade Papers for 1874, page 2).

"The Project of Law was referred to a Commission, or Committee of the Congress, which reported in its favour, with some important improvements by way of amendment, on 28th January, 1873 (Slave Trade Papers for 1874, page 13).

"Before the Law could be discussed in the Cortes and passed, as it would inevitably have been, King Amadeo abdicated, and the Republican party succeeded to power. The Law was voted on 24th March, 1873, but was modified by the then Republican Government, in an unfavourable sense, especially by the enactments of the three years' apprenticeship for liberated slaves, and by deferring until five years after the publication of the Law in the *Madrid Official Gazette* the full enjoyment by them of political rights. Although the friends of abolition regarded these changes with great regret, they thought it better to accept them than to run the imminent risk of having the Law thrown out altogether by the Cortes (see my despatch to Earl Granville



of March 24, 1873, Slave-Trade Papers for 1874, pages 17, 18).

“Señor Castelar did not become President of the Republic until September, 1873. It is consequently untrue, that the Law for the abolition of Slavery in Puerto Rico is to be attributed to the Republican Government or to Señor Castelar, who, however, by his eloquence, greatly contributed to its passing.

“They only carried out the policy of their predecessors, but the Law, as passed by the Republican Government, was, as I have shown, not so good or so favourable to the slaves as that proposed by Señor Zorrilla, and accepted by the Congress in his time. Mr. Cooper’s statement that the abolition of slavery depended upon the recognition by Her Majesty’s Government of that of Señor Castelar, is as absurd as it is contrary to truth. The question of the recognition of the Spanish Republic by the Governments of Europe, is one upon which the opinion of Mr. Cooper can be entitled to no weight, as it cannot be founded upon any knowledge of the facts and considerations upon which those Governments thought fit to act.

“4. Mr. Cooper’s statement (page 92 of your translation) that the Law for the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico would not have passed without the intervention of the United States’ Government and of its Representative at Madrid, General Sickles, and that the Abolitionists in Madrid have shown (‘constaté’) that their cause received neither help nor even any mark of sympathy from England or her Ambassador, is

a shameful calumny as regards Her Majesty's Government and myself.

“ It would not be proper for me to discuss or question the course pursued by the American Minister in this matter, although Mr. Cooper has thought fit, on this as well as on other occasions, to contrast the conduct of General Sickles in an unjustifiable and invidious manner with mine. You, sir, can inform yourself, if you think necessary, upon this subject, and you will then learn the truth.

“ Although I do not yield to Mr. Cooper or his friends in detestation of slavery, and in the earnest hope and desire that this horrible and inhuman institution may speedily cease to exist in every part of the world, I have a profounder conviction that the great cause of abolition is better promoted by a regard for truth and by a wise, prudent, and statesmanlike policy, than by reckless assertion and by misrepresenting the actions, motives, and opinions of other men.

“ As you will see by the documents presented to the British Parliament, to which I have referred you, I may claim the credit of having been among the first to advocate that which was possible and practicable, namely, the immediate abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico, without mixing up with it the question of slavery in Cuba. To that object I steadily, and against no little opposition, directed, with the support and approval of my Government, all my efforts. I felt that if slavery were abolished in Puerto Rico it would be doomed in Cuba.

“For a proof that my opinion has been fully justified, I need only quote the declaration of Señor Castelar, in his recent Manifesto to the electors of Barcelona, that ‘the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico implies that of slavery in Cuba.’ Moreover, the full approval that I have received from my Government of my conduct (see Earl Granville’s despatches of March 31 and May 31, 1873, Slave-Trade Papers of 1874, pp. 19 and 22) is quite sufficient to enable me to regard with the utmost indifference the charges of such persons as Mr. Cooper.

“I may repeat to you what I have already stated officially to my Government, that one of the most serious obstacles that the Spanish abolitionists have experienced in their most difficult task has arisen from the proceedings of Mr. Cooper and his friends, and I make this statement upon the highest authority.

“I need scarcely add that I have experienced the same difficulties from the same source. The exaggerations and unscrupulous misstatements of those gentlemen have had a most serious and lamentable effect upon public opinion in Spain, and have greatly strengthened the hands of the already too-powerful pro-slavery party.

“I will not add more, although I should have little difficulty in doing so, to expose Mr. Cooper’s inaccuracies and misrepresentations with respect to my conduct and that of Her Majesty’s Government in the question of slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico. From what I have written you will, I think, be able to judge how



far confidence can be placed in any statements coming from such a source.

“ But I venture to refer you for further corroboration of what I have stated to a source, the authority of which will scarcely be called in question by Mr. Cooper—the despatches of the American Minister at this Court, Mr. Caleb Cushing, published in the ‘ Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States of America, transmitted to Congress with the Annual Message of the President on the 6th December last ’ (vol. 2).

“ I especially beg to call your attention to Mr. Cushing’s despatch of the 4th November, 1874 (p. 1,077), as to the acts and policy of different Spanish Governments, including those of the Republic, with regard to abolition, and to his despatch of the 2nd August, 1875 (p. 1,133), in which he denounces the ‘ scandalous misrepresentations,’ with reference to slavery in Puerto Rico, of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the organ of the Society of which Mr. Cooper is the most prominent member, as ‘ philanthropic falsehoods,’ a term which I should scarcely have ventured to employ.

“ I have, &c.

“ (Signed)      A. H. LAYARD.”

MR. LAYARD, "UN CONTINENT PERDU," AND  
THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE foregoing letter is interspersed with charges of falsehood, calumny, exaggerations, and unscrupulous misstatements, conveyed in language rarely, if ever, employed by statesmen at the present day. These charges, which are entirely unsupported by facts, are made on assertions which, without descending to the use of Mr. Layard's language, we shall show to be without foundation.

In the first place, Mr. Layard denies the statement in "The Lost Continent" as to the existence of a very large amount of anti-slavery feeling among the people at large about the time of the Revolution of 1868. On this subject it ought to be sufficient to quote the testimony of the late Señor Olozaga, so long at the head of the Government of Spain under Queen Isabella.

At the great Anti-Slavery Conference, held in Paris in 1867, of which the late Duke de Broglie was honorary president, M. Olozaga made use of the following words:—"In every country that had declared emancipation, the movement came from without, and abolition was forced upon the planters. To-day the colonies and the people of Spain desire emancipation, but the central Government is opposed to it." At that time the power to hold public meetings did not exist in Spain, and a Spanish gentleman present on the occasion remarked that whenever the people of Spain shall

be able to speak, they will speak out on this subject. Now what did take place almost immediately after the revolution of 1868?

Crowded public meetings were held in Madrid, in Barcelona, Seville, Jaen, Soria, Alhama, Malaga, Granada, Huesca, Cuenca, Feruel, Santander, Burgos, Salamanca, Bilbao, and in many other towns in the provinces. At these meetings resolutions were unanimously adopted calling for the entire abolition of slavery in the colonies of Spain. Petitions for this object, numerous, signed, were sent up to the Cortes from all parts of Spain. Petitions were also sent in from the students of the University of Madrid, and from the eight Universities in the Provinces, from the Society of Arts (principally composed of working men), and from the capitals of thirty-nine out of the forty-nine provinces into which Spain is divided. A Petition which lay in the Puerto del Sol for signature received in one day, the 20th December, 1868, 13,000 signatures, which, when it was presented shortly after, had 110,000 names attached to it.

In view of these facts, what becomes of Mr. Layard's statement, and of the groundless and uncalled-for charges of falsehood which he ventures so recklessly to make?

So far back as 1866, seventy-seven newspapers in Spain advocated the abolition of slavery, a complete list of which is now before us.

For a complete refutation, however, of Mr. Layard's statement that the country was indifferent to the aboli-



tion of slavery, it is only necessary to refer to Mr. Layard himself, who, in a despatch to Earl Granville in 1870 (see Blue-book, p. 48), says, "The institution [of slavery] has been denounced by the great majority of the Spanish people and by the Cortes."

In the next place, Mr. Layard denies that any change whatever took place in the attitude or policy of the English Government after the death of Lord Clarendon. As no facts are adduced in support of this assertion, all that appears to be necessary is to advise those who have any doubt upon the subject to compare the replies of the lamented Lord Clarendon to the Anti-Slavery Society with those addressed to it from the Foreign Office subsequent to his death, and indeed until the present administration came into power. Without any intentional change of policy, the Foreign Office is of course liable at all times to be greatly influenced by the opinion or bias of its representatives abroad.

The next point refers to the law abolishing slavery in Porto Rico, and under this head Mr. Layard goes into many details respecting the project of law introduced by Señor Zorilla near the close of King Amadeus' reign, in December, 1872. Most of these statements are correct, but they refer to matters which have never been disputed. There are, however, two statements to which objection must be taken. Mr. Layard says the intention of a Spanish Government to abolish slavery in Porto Rico was first "publicly intimated" by King Amadeus in 1872. How far this statement is correct will be seen in a subsequent part

of this paper. The other point to which we believe every real friend of liberty in Spain will take objection is the way in which Mr. Layard alludes to Señor Castelar, and the Government of which he was so prominent a member. Mr. Layard accompanies a little faint praise with the statement which nobody disputes, that Señor Castelar did not become President of the Republic till September, 1873. This, however, is nothing to the purpose, because it is perfectly well known that, so far as slavery is concerned, he was the ruling spirit and immeasurably the most powerful man in the Republic.

On one point Mr. Layard appears to have misapprehended, in part, the meaning of the author of "The Lost Continent." There never was any intention to ignore the important service rendered by Señor Zorilla in introducing a Bill for immediate abolition in Porto Rico. This was so far from being the case that the author joined with his colleagues in sending an address of grateful recognition and thanks to Señor Zorilla only a few weeks before the Bill was finally passed. Mr. Layard rightly observes that the Republican Government modified the Bill in an unfavourable sense, in order to be able to pass it; but why were they obliged to do this? The Bill had been approved by an enormous majority, what was it that prevented it from passing unimpaired?

We believe the only answer to this is, that the pro-slavery party was emboldened by the apparent indifference of the British Government and its representative

at that particular time. It was well known that both the Republic and this measure of emancipation had the sympathy and support of the American Government, and it is probable that without this, and the firm and generous support of General Sickles, the Government would not have been able to pass the measure at all. Now it was also well known at Madrid that England is entitled by Treaty Rights to claim complete emancipation in Porto Rico as well as in Cuba; but the Spanish abolitionists complain that, whilst more might therefore reasonably have been expected from her, the cause at this peculiar crisis had no assistance from the British Government or its representative.

Nothing, perhaps, could incidentally show the contrast between the conduct of the Representative of the British and American Governments in a more striking manner than the course pursued on that occasion by the small but rich and powerful pro-slavery party. It is well known that they hired, by a most lavish expenditure, mobs collected from the lowest and basest portion of the population of Madrid; but whilst the house of General Sickles was surrounded and threatened in the most riotous manner, we did not hear that any hostile demonstration was made before the palatial residence of the British Envoy.

Mr. Layard is quite justified in his favourable allusion to King Amadeus' Government, but from what quarter did His Majesty receive his impressions on the subject of slavery? It is certain that when he went to Spain his knowledge of the subject was very



limited. The ladies of the Birmingham Negroes' Friend Society, desiring to interest the Queen on the subject, adopted a respectful address to Her Majesty. The address was forwarded to Mr. Layard for presentation ; but His Excellency, being desirous in this very simple matter to be strictly in order, courteously informed the Ladies' Society that he would present it on being authorised to do so by the British Government. He did not, however, inform the Ladies' Society that he was at the same time writing to the Foreign Office to inform them that this presentation would be unsuitable just now. It was, therefore, found necessary to get the address presented by the hands of a foreigner. The address was graciously received by the Queen, the King being present. Their Majesties were glad to receive the information it contained, and requested further information, which was subsequently forwarded to them through a foreign channel.

Shortly after this, the Paris International Anti-Slavery Bureau sent to London an Address to King Amadeus, signed by the venerable Guizot, M. Laboulaye, De Presensé, Cochin, and others, for additional signatures in England, with the request that it should be forwarded to Madrid ; but, after the experience of the English ladies, it appeared useless to attempt to present it through any British medium. It was therefore returned to Paris, and immediately forwarded by the French Government to King Amadeus, who expressed great satisfaction at receiving it.

Now, we ask is this the right position for the English

Nation to occupy? Is it not rather one of humiliation and shame?

The opinion is cited by Mr. Layard that the assassination of General Prim and the abdication of King Amadeus may, in great measure, be attributed to their intention to abolish slavery. If such be the case, it furnishes the strongest reason why the British Government should have pressed its claims, and it cannot be accepted as a justification for apparent indifference.

Mr. Layard claims the credit of having been among the first to advocate the abolition of slavery in Porto Rico apart from the question of slavery in Cuba, and states that the first public intimation of the kind was made in the Cortes in 1872; but in this he is singularly mistaken. The subject was on various previous occasions publicly advocated years before. In 1866 a separate measure of Emancipation for that Island was advocated by two Porto Rican delegates in the Royal Commission which sat that year in Madrid. In the year 1870, also, the Spanish Government appointed a Commission to consider the best means of abolishing slavery in Porto Rico. The measure had from time to time been put forward by members of the Spanish Abolition Society, founded in 1865, and a Bill for this special purpose was presented to the Cortes by delegates from Porto Rico in 1871, when the project was largely discussed and favourably received, but the sudden close of the Assembly prevented it from being pressed forward. What, then, becomes of Mr. Layard's statement that he was among the first to advocate the

measure, and that it was first brought before the public in 1872?

The last statement which we shall notice is that in which Mr. Layard asserts that the Spanish Abolitionists state that they have experienced the most serious obstacles in their most difficult task from the proceedings of Mr. Cooper and his friends. Unfortunately for this statement, the London Committee has received a Minute from the Spanish Abolitionist Society, warmly and cordially thanking them for all they have done. That Society, which is composed of the most eminent men of all parties in Spain, was founded at a public meeting held in the Hall of Jurisprudence in Madrid in 1865, Lord Brougham being the first Hon. President.

As to the charges quoted from Mr. Caleb Cushing, it is only necessary to refer to the *Anti-Slavery Reporters* for November, 1876, and March, 1877. The appeal by Mr. Layard to such an authority was, however, very natural; but Spain is a country not altogether unknown to us and we are not able to accept as unquestionable the opinions of a gentleman who formerly so greatly distinguished himself as the advocate of slavery in his own country.